6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

## INTRODUCTION

121. While few would disagree that systems of economics are different, the notion that economies might be propelled by sets of dynamics radically different from those that developed in Western economy is much less accepted. That this should be the case rests to a large degree on the development of economics as a science. Those people who accepted the calling to become economists were concerned with understanding and explaining the economic systems of which they were the most aware. Economic theory became synonymous with an analysis of industrial economies. Yet the majority of the human populace lived in societies that had been only marginally affected by the industrial revolution and there even were social enclaves which were still untouched by it. Only in recent years have a growing number of economists, anthropologists, and sociologists sought to understand the economic systems of these nonindustrial societies. The present work, as a description and analysis of how wealth is distributed in one such society, is intended to make a modest contribution to this understanding.

121 105 The society which we shall examine is that of the Berbers in the Central Rif of Morocco. The empire of Morocco itself has a lengthy history as a political unit. However, various mountain

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

6 Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3



121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
121
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
121
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

## CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now drew a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

---

[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Galoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

105 631 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupation, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 648 [631] [178] The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 [181]

[114]

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3



105 443 441 182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105 182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

## Chapter VIII

# SUMMARY

105 From the standpoint of the cultural geographer, northern Morocco is perhaps best described as an area of modified Berber culture located within the realms of Mediterranean environment and Islamic civilization. The influence of the Mediterranean environment is most clearly seen in modes of livelihood, while Islamic influence predominates in religion, language, and social organization. The persistence of traits of truly indigenous (i.e., Berber) culture is explained in large part by the lack of direct communication with the Muslim heartland and the main centers of Western civilization. Berber traits have persisted also because of environmental conditions and social circumstances that discouraged economic development and political centralization. The cultural geography of northern Morocco is best studied in the light of contingencies that are peculiar to this corner of the Old World.

The dominant physical feature of the area is the Rif mountain chain, which marks the division between a zone of effective isolation and one of peripheral passageways. The diffusion of most innovations can be traced along a hook-shaped course with the point embedded in the Ghmaran hills. The main stream of Moroccan history flows through the Taza corridor and then north or south along the Atlantic littoral. The Moulouya Valley has never been more than a minor distributary. It was followed by bedawin during the final phase of the Arab invasions, but the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco did not attract immigrants seeking opportunities for a settled life. In contrast, the Taza corridor leads to lands of reliable rainfall and fertile soil.

The first and most important breach of the mountain rampart occurred along the ridges leading from Shawen to Targist. It was along this route that Islam and Arabic advanced most rapidly into the highlands. The same route served the Spaniards as the sole link between the western and eastern parts of their protectorate. Invaders found it easy to move along the Atlantic littoral, and a few managed to penetrate the Jbalan hills, but no major force moved into the highlands from the east or south. It is not yet certain whether the famous "Unity Road" (Tariq at-Tauhid), built immediately after independence to link Alhucemas and Fez, will prove worthy of its name.

From 1912 until 1928 the area of effective Spanish occupation was about the same as the area occupied by the Romans. The extent of the *bilad al-makhzen* fluctuated from reign to reign; yet even the more ambitious sultans were not able to exercise enduring influence in the Rif. Roman Morocco was a land of plains. The Arabs managed to add a large area of foothills. After numerous setbacks the Europeans were able to subdue the highlands. The present government, profiting from the accomplishments of the protectorates, has tried to unify the Moroccan people and integrate the national economy. It is no longer reasonable to describe Morocco as a primitive country rent by the hostility of Arabs and Berbers or townsmen and tribesmen. The conquest of the lands of dissidence has eliminated or at least masked the major dichotomies. Nevertheless, one is still tempted to speak of Moroccos rather than a Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] [178] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



105 toward the eastern plains, and the tribesmen of Garet and Gal'aya stake their lives on the unpredictable rains. The seasonal emigration from these districts results from the serious imbalance between population and reliable food supply.

In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the natural vegetation has been substantially modified. The principal causes of disturbance have been cutting, burning, and browsing, which have changed northern Morocco from a land of forests to a land of scrub. Large areas now covered with palmetto or thorn scrub once supported forests of oleaster, oak, cedar, and thuya. At present the distribution of forests is approximately the obverse of the distribution of men and livestock. Most of the remaining cedar forests are located above the limits of cultivation, and the surviving stands of holly oak occur in karstic highlands rising above cultivated plains. In the western lowlands most of the native plant cover has been destroyed. Sacred groves of oleaster give some indication of primordial or potential conditions, but only palmetto and a few other shrubs of the secondary growth survive. The record of succession is more complete in the Jbalan hills, and all stages in the retrogression are present in the Sanhajan highlands. The natural vegetation of the eastern plains, like that of the Atlantic littoral, has been almost completely destroyed, but the repeated expansion and contraction of the area of cultivated land permits an extensive development of secondary scrub.

The processes that have produced these changes can be traced into prehistory. Cereals were cultivated and goats were raised before the Phoenicians arrived. Since clearing is, and probably was, accomplished by burning, the limitations of Stone Age technology probably did not inhibit some modifications of vegetation and soil. It is hazardous to generalize about variations in the intensity of disturbance, for there is no way to determine long-term trends in the growth of human and animal populations. Nevertheless, some parts of the historical record are sufficiently striking to command attention—for example, the indication that shipbuilding was once an important industry on the Mediterranean coast, and that gates of cedar used to stand in city walls.

121 Understanding in cultural geography is attained through analysis of processes
105 initiated and carried forward by man. In this work an attempt has been made to account for the distribution of culture traits and the effects of man's activities on the land. In other words, this study has been concerned with patterns and imprints of culture. The evidence examined suggests that the landscape of northern Morocco has long been affected by two trends: a blurring of cultural patterns, and a deepening and extension of cultural imprints. It is reasonable to suppose that both trends will persist. Political centralization will encourage acculturation, and further increase in population will accelerate modification of the land.

/p. 120 is blank/

105

Identification

The Riffians belong linguistically to the Riffian branch of the Berber division of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They live in the northern mountains of Morocco and are culturally akin to the Jebala, who now speak Arabic. They fall into the following divisions:

A. Metalsa (Mtalsa), located in the SE. They numbered 68, 000 in 1921, and their language is strongly affected by Zenata Berber.

B. Riffians proper, located in the N and NE. They numbered between 300, 000 and 400, 000 in 1921, and fall into three subdivisions:

   a. Eastern: Kebdana, Galiya (Guelaia), Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. This group is strongly infiltrated by Zenata Berbers.

   b. Central: Temsaman, Touzin (Beni Touzine), Gzennaya (Gzennaia), Beni Amert, Urriaghel (Beni Ouriaghel), Targuist, and Bokoya (Bokaia).

   c. Western: Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Fra, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

C. Ghomara (Ghomera), located in the NW. They numbered about 107, 000 in 1921, are strongly Arabized, and speak a language mutually intelligible with Riffian proper.

D. Senhaja (Sanhadja), located in the S. They numbered about 180, 000 in 1921. Only the nuclear Senhaja speak Berber--a dialect close to but not mutually intelligible with Riffian proper. The other Senhaja speak Arabic today. There are through subdivisions of the Senhaja:

   a. Nuclear Senhaja: Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Ktama, and Beni Mesduy.

   b. Eastern Arabaphone Senhaja: Marnissa, Beni Krama, Brane, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Medinna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Shama.

105

c. Western Arabaphone Senhaja: Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa (Ghezaoua), and Khmes (El Khmes). The town of Chechaouen is in Khmes territory.

The Ghomara sub-tribes are the Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin. The Riffians were apparently not strongly affected by Carthaginian, Roman, and Vandal rule. The first wave of Arab conquerors established a strong kingdom at Nekor in 710, converting the Riffians to Islam. In the 11th century a strong wave of nomadic Arab immigrants entered Morocco, about 150, 000 strong, and strongly affected the eastern Rif. In 1216 the country was conquered by Zenata Berbers from the Moroccan Sahara. In 1497 the Spaniards conquered Melilla, which they have held ever since. The bulk of the Riffian territory today falls into Spanish rather than French Morocco.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with plow cultivation, use of animal manure, and considerable irrigation and terracing of fields. The staple crop is barley, followed by maize and rye. Also grown are wheat (rare), sorghum (recent and uncommon), beans (Faba vulgaris and a small black species), peas, lentils, vetch, potatoes, turnips, onions, carrots (few), tomatoes, peppers, squash, gourds, almonds, apples, apricots, figs, grapes (important), lemons, olives, oranges, peaches, pears, plums, pomegranates, and walnuts.

Cattle, used for milk, meat, hides, and traction, are the principal domestic animals, but numerous goats, horses, donkeys, mules, dogs, chickens, and bees are also kept, as well as a few sheep and cats but no camels. Pigs were kept until recently, and even today are occasionally kept surreptitiously. Butter but not cheese is made. There is considerable hunting and trapping, and considerable fishing (with seines) on the coast. There are weekly markets, usually one in each district.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and do nearly all the agricultural work; among the Senhaja and some Ghomara, however, the women also work in the fields. Boys herd sheep and goats. Women tend cattle, gather greens, and do some of the market trading.

Property

Irrigation ditches used by more than one man are communally owned and tended, each farmer having so many days or half-days of water use. Share-cropping is common.

Inheritance is patrilineal, following the Koranic law--an eighth of a man's estate going to his widow with the remainder in equal shares to his children (or to his siblings, if he has no children) with females receiving half rather than full shares. When a woman marries, she releases her inherited property to her brothers or other near male relatives.

Social Stratification

There are practically no slaves, Negro or otherwise, but there are despised endogamous castes of smiths (often Negroid), musicians, public criers (who are also market weighers and measurers), and Jews (who are confined to special colonies and are subject to severe restrictions). Among ordinary freemen there are appreciable differences in land ownership and wealth, but these have not crystallized into sharp class distinctions, and both upward and downward mobility within a single generation are common.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price, which averages $100 to $600 among the Riffians proper but only about $7 among the nuclear Senhaja. Youths select their own spouses, the mothers make the preliminary arrangements, and the fathers negotiate the bride-price and make final arrangements. Virginity is demanded and tested.

Polygyny is permitted, but only in the non-sororal form. It is rare, however, and only rich men have more than one wife through choice (they live in the same house). Most polygynous unions result from the operation of the preferential levirate; a widow continues to reside in her deceased husband's house, where she is visited by her levirate husband. Preferential sororate also prevails.

Family

There are patrilocal extended families called "veins" (awar), including a group of brothers and their descendants who sometimes but not usually live in a single house. When all the brothers of the oldest generation die, the group splits into as many new patri-families as there were brothers.

Residence

A groom by preference builds or buys a separate house in his father's village, but if he is poor he and his bride may reside in his father's house. Matrilocal residence occurs in cases where a stranger serves his WiFa as a share-cropper.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

There is preferential local endogamy, but exogamous unions sometimes occur.

Marriage is forbidden with a FaBrDa, but allowed with other first cousins.

Descent is patrilineal, but only the minor patri-lineage or "vein" localized as an extended family is exogamous. A number of patri-lineally related "veins" form a patri-sib called "bone" (ighs), which is preferentially but not exclusively endogamous and which is normally localized as a clan.

Settlement Pattern

The Riffians live in compact sedentary villages of square houses with flat roofs, walls of stone masonry, and interior courtyards. The Ghomara and Senhaja houses have gabled roofs covered with thatch or shingles, though some Senhaja houses also have flat roofs. The Senhaja and some Metalsa have walled and fortified towns. Alone among the Riffians, the Metalsa are semi-nomadic with seasonal transhumance (in the mountains in the winter, in the valleys in the summer) and live in tents during their nomadic phase.

Community Organization

A patri-sib is usually localized as a patrilocal clan-community, sometimes, however, as a politically independent clan-barrio within the village. Strangers may be attached to the clan, but without political rights. As their descendants increase, they usually hive off and form independent clan-communities of their own. Circumcision is practiced--usually in infancy but sometimes at the age of 7 or 8.

Local Government

Local government is usually confined to two or three youths appointed for their promise or intelligence by the district council to serve as a sort of police force, dealing with petty offences.

State

The clan-villages (usually unrelated) of a valley or other small geographical area are politically integrated into a district (arrba), and districts are integrated into tribes, often by five grups of districts called "fifths" (khom). Political cohesion is slight, even in a district. Each district, however, has a council (amghar) consisting of 3-4 men from each prominent clan (exclusive of those founded by strangers). The members are chosen by their predecessors, usually with some tendency for a father to be succeeded by his son. The council appoints a presiding officer or moderator (mokaddem), and handles all important judicial and administrative matters. Tribal and even intertribal councils assemble in cases of emergencies. The Targuist tribe of the Riffians proper and the nuclear Senhaja tribes are exceptional in being under the domination of marabout families. The Ghomara differ in having an Arab type of political organization with tribal chiefs (kaid) and district chiefs (sheikh).

Warfare

Warfare is common between districts, and even between the clans of a district. Montagne reports a system of moiety-like groups (lef) comparable to those of the Shluh. When a war affects neighboring groups adversely, the neighboring tribes call an intertribal council which assesses a heavy fine against the aggressor tribe; if this is not paid, the neighbors attack the offending tribe district by district. As each district is defeated, a fine is collected, and it is compelled to join in the fight against the next district, sharing in the fine collected from them, and so on until the last district is conquered and pacified.

Bibliography

Bernard, A. Afrique septentrionale et occidentale, Vol. I. Paris, 1937. (A very few items).

Coon, C. S. Tribes of the Rif. Harvard African Studies, IX, 1-417. 1931. (A modern ethnography with substantial information).

Mouliéras, A. Le Maroc inconnu, Vol. I: Exploration du Rif. Paris, 1895.

Piquet, V. Le peuple marocain. Paris, 1925.